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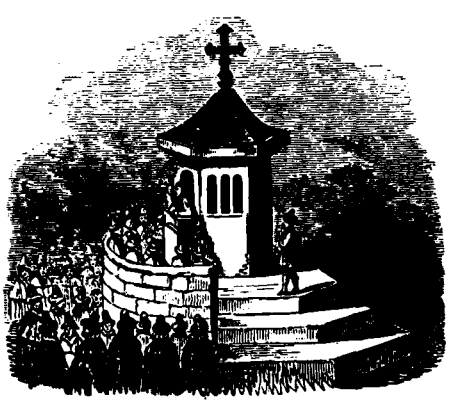

Liturgical Issue, 1971

WILLIAM H. CLEARY
INSTANT CHURCH

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CORRESPONDENCE

Estab-Libs and the War

Narberth, Pa.

To the Editors: Re Peter Steinfels' article [May 21]: A "content analysis" of *Commentary* 1964-1970 would show a distinct playing down and fundamental evasion of the rather important subject of Vietnam. Why? Why the hatchet job on Chomsky by Abel, and one in *Dissent* by Dennis Wrong? (Both, incidentally, almost totally devoid of analysis or substance, and reminiscent of little terriers harassing an elephant.)

In order to understand these matters, I find useful the concept of an Estab-Lib, i.e., a reformer-nationalist who feels threatened mainly by basic criticism of existing institutions and demands for radical change. Estab-Libs (ELs) have usually made it, and they understand and value the structures which they have successfully negotiated. They are also "responsible," i.e., they start from the premise that those wielding power in these structures seek admirable ends on the basis of superior knowledge. ELs would actually spend some time criticizing the Establishment, if their gut reactions were not directed largely at radicals (conveniently labeled "The New Left" and fellow travelers), who are upsetting the Silent Majority and reducing the possibility of liberal reform. Besides, radicals are questioning EL premises and thus EL qualifications as liberals and progressives.

In the case of the Vietnam war, for the EL this was a "mistake," an aberration that is not permitted to interfere with the premise that the United States is historically unique among states in its basic goodness and striving for justice. The idea that there is an internal dynamic to the expansion of the American policy—and that the world problem is containing "us"—is too repugnant to be entertained, as it questions our beneficence and implies that a slight shift in the balance of power of the Democratic party might not suffice to alter the main drift.

The Vietnam war is painful to the EL because it puts him on the defensive as a nationalist: It "plays into the hands" of the radicals. The EL is usually (but not always) "against the war"—especially at this late date when even the leaders of the Democratic party are for disengagement—but after saying it is "repugnant" to him, the EL moves on quickly to denounce those who compare our leaders with the Nazis (still avoiding any details). His identification with Vietnamese victims of American policy is generally slight—a content analysis of *Commentary*, for example, will disclose minimal discussion of issues of huge humanistic, legal, and moral significance, such as the deliberate use of Zippo squads and refugee "generation," bombing policies historically unique in scale and savagery, chemical warfare, etc. Neglect of these matters defines the moral spectrum of ELs, as does their complacent encouragement by Mr. Nixon's "winding down" the war. (He is now dropping bombs on Indochina at the rate of about 75,000-100,000 tons per month; down only slightly from the peak levels of 1968 and twice the 1967 rate.) I suspect the EL would not be so understanding if, say the Soviet Union were "winding down" the bombing of Israel, or if Hitler were reducing the number of gas chamber victims to half the former rate. The fact is that the mass murder of Vietnamese is not a compelling moral issue for the EL, and arouses his ire less than a New Left peccadillo.

It is now known, of course, that in the heyday of the cold war a number of ELs were agents of the CIA and that they were truly "professional" anti-Communists. Most ELs, however, have played their historic role on the basis of principle. That historic role has been to bring anti-Communism to the fore as a key element in the American consciousness, to use it to destroy the Left, and to clear the ground for U.S. militarization, expansion, and counter-revolutionary intervention. The EL may not even be aware of this role because his reaction is essentially from the gut, and because he does not see how the absence of a serious Left, and his own short adaptations to the world view defined by the power structure, give the latter total control over the main drift of America and the world.

EDWARD S. HERMAN

ABM Morality

Louisville, Ky.

To the Editors: The article by Edward S. Boylan on the morality of ABM [June 11] is strategically naive and morally repugnant. Research and deployment of offensive and defensive nuclear weapons are undertaken in part on the basis of one nation's perception of the intent of the other nation. This intent is necessarily ambiguous. For example, if the U.S. should deploy area defense of cities (Washington, New York, Boston, Miami, Philadelphia, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, San Francisco) as Mr. Boylan suggests, would the USSR assume that the intent was entirely to save lives? If that were the extent of the U.S. deployment, maybe so. However, the U.S. has already launched a MIRV program which will place 3 warheads each in Minuteman land missiles and 10 on each of the sixteen missiles in each of 31 Poseidon submarines (i.e., 4,960 warheads somewhere at sea).

The U.S. may call ABM's essential for saving lives and the MIRV's assured destruction in case of someone else's first strike, but what might the USSR consider such an arsenal? Might they think that the U.S. is going for first strike? After all with 8,000 highly accurate MIRV warheads, the U.S. could penetrate the Soviet ABM system, knock out their land missiles, and totally destroy their industry—all at once. Then, if any Soviet missiles survived, they could be shot down by the U.S. ABM's.

As far as I know, no nation has said they intend to strike first. The U.S. has not said so, certainly. But the USSR could interpret the U.S. actions as just such an intent. After all, in order to save American lives, the U.S. dropped nuclear bombs on Japan; in order to save American lives, and U.S.

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invaded Laos and Cambodia. It is certain that the U.S. discussed using nuclear weapons during the Cuban missile crisis and it is probable that their use was either discussed and/or threatened in Korea and Vietnam in 1954.

If the U.S. were only involved in deploying ABM, Mr. Boylan's argument concerning its morality might be tenable. ABM and MIRV is a different case. MIRV is the issue and has been for several years.

Furthermore his finding a moral defense for ABM is making two wrongs a right. The horror of wars fought by industrial nations in the 20th Century is finally forcing many Christians to realize that war itself is immoral, that the stockpiling of arms makes war more probable and that all of our energy and intelligence should be directed toward negotiation and problem solving. Vacuous theologizing about the morality of war games is irresponsible.

CAROLINE W. KREBS

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Professor Boylan's article arguing the morality of the ABM [June 11, 1971] appeared in your pages exactly two years after my own article arguing the immorality of the ABM [June 13, 1969]. It was therefore with a rather special interest that I read it, while making no claim to neutrality on the issue. I must say, however, that rather than finding a challenge, I found the article disappointing for the following reasons:

A) The author did not do what he set out to do. After asserting boldly that "there are strong moral . . . arguments *for* deployment of ABM" that don't get the attention they deserve, he spends the rest of the article trying to dismantle the arguments *against* its deployment. At the end we are still waiting for these strong moral arguments to appear. Likewise, he asks the question: "Does ABM make a nuclear war more likely? No definitive statement can be made." Then eight lines later he makes the definitive statement: "ABM will not make such a war more likely." This kind of thing gives the article a

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NEEDED: A NEW POSTURE

Sometimes the most persuasive of theories can be devastated by the simplest of observations, and that is precisely what has happened to the devil theory which lays the failure of church reform at the doorstep of reformers. The theory is elaborately propounded in James Hitchcock's book, *The Decline and Fall of Radical Catholicism,* but it emanates too from the highest of stations, not excluding the papacy. A beguiling logic this theory serves up: that reform was betrayed by reformers; that liberals and radicals —journalists in the main—began what they had neither the patience, faith, intelligence nor generosity to see through; and that the consequences of their dilettantism are confusion, dissension, apostasies—in sum, a fractured church. It is a neat sort of rationale in any good-guys, bad-guys scenario; it fixes guilt on easy, visible targets, and holds the other side blameless, or innocent victim.

Seldom have practitioners of one-dimensionalism been routed more completely than Garry Wills routed ecclesiastical one-dimensionalists in reviewing Hitchcock's book in the *New York Times.* The church that can be brought down by a newspaper or magazine article is even more friable than one shattered by the experience of losing a brilliant pope, Wills commented; the church that is prey to the cynical passerby is in more danger than anyone realized. Wills' countertheory is that the world is witnessing a basic failure in authoritative instruments and institutions. "They can no longer convince, because they barely stand. All the mortising is weakened."

Wills' countertheory is perhaps open to some debate of its own, but his basic point is irrefutable: it is preposterous to lay the church's failure at reform on incidental figures operating on subordinate levels; it's like blaming the batboy for the floundering of the Cincinnati Reds. However, even allowing that liberals and radicals made mistakes and indeed did cause complications, where were the first-stringers? Or, as Wills put it, what prevented the mass of bishops, nuns, priests, theologians and laity from seizing the opportunities which liberals and radicals flubbed? This is the heart of the matter, for, whatever the negative legacies of the "radlibs," the fact is that standard leadership elements of the establishment met few of the challenges posed by reform, despite a succession of opportunities to do so. Just a few weeks ago, for instance, the proposal of a national pastoral council for the Catholic church in the U.S. was set aside by a steering com-

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mittee of the bishops as "not feasible" at this time.

A striking opportunity to reverse inadequate procedures occurs next month when a Synod of Bishops is convoked in Rome. However, this Synod, which held some hope for alleviating problems of the sacerdotal ministry and for promoting world justice, seems now so badly compromised by Rome's handling of the third topic on the agenda—that of a "fundamental law" or constitution for the church—that it may take a miracle to save it. Only the most partisan of apologists defend what Rome is about; criticism, on the other hand, comes not from the fire-eaters, but from moderates like Canadian theologian Father Bernard Lonergan and establishment figures like Belgium's Cardinal Suenens. They find the fundamental law project mistaken, hasty and a threat to ecumenism and collegiality.

A fundamental law for the church may or may not be a good thing, but good or bad, the Synod will be asked to render decision on a document on which there has been minimum consultation, which cannot be adequately debated given the agenda and time allotted, and which has been held top-secret from the laity. Yet this very law will be the point of reference for all future laws of the church.

The question is, how long can the official church act this cavalierly and expect there still to be an organized church? The walls are coming down, and the impulse in Rome is to continue to write law and prop authority, as elsewhere it is to search out whipping-boys to satisfy for what has gone wrong. These are depressing impulses, as they drive the church in upon itself. Small wonder critics become betrayers; revisionists, Judases.

It is an unhappy scene, for it provides glimpses not of a church ever reassured, even young, ever renewing itself as it proclaims the good news—but of a church nervous and embittered, seeking to accomplish through law and recrimination what should be its by joyous confidence in the Word. This church needs a new posture. When it adopts it, everyone will be less up-tight, including the devil-theorists.

Mainland China At the UN Door

With President Nixon's Peking declaration and its table-tennis prologue, the question was no longer whether U.S.-UN policy on China would shift but whether it would go half- or full-circle. In fact it went just short of full, as became clear at the Aug. 2 news conference of Secretary of State Rogers. It was at that conference that Rogers outlined new U.S. policy: the U.S. will support the seating of mainland China, but opposes expulsion of the Taiwan-based Chinese Nationalist Government.

In fact, change of some kind was inevitable following the landmark vote of November '70 on representation that gave Peking her first majority. Much of the press chose to remind their readers that it was victory by only a two-vote margin. What they were ignoring was the psychological transformation: for an ailing United Nations China was the new antibiotic.

For ten years Washington had blocked China's presence by controlling enough votes to keep the issue of representation off the agenda. But by 1961 this approach had shown signs of souring and a new device was dreamed up—the "important-question resolution" which called for a two-thirds majority to seat Peking.

For another ten years that worked, at least numerically. But the margin by which the "important-question resolution" carried last year has meantime suffered such an erosion that neither Japan, long a no-Peking campaigner, nor the U.S. was anxious to go that route again.

Without it, however, the so-called Albanian resolution, asking for the seating of Peking and the expulsion of the Nationalists, needs only a simple majority. And since China has that—and more—the only "salvation" for Taiwan would lie in putting the Assembly through some form of two-China paces.

This is unacceptable to Peking and at least rhetorically, has been to Taiwan, too. But the Nationalists more recently appear to have been blowing hot and cold on this point.

If by early October, when the China debate seems likely to open, Taiwan should be loath to give up that half-loaf and Washington remains committed to "defending" Taiwan's position, then some variant of the misnamed "two-China formula" would have to come into play.

Now the pro-Peking delegations can secure priority for their resolution with the same majority that will vote Yes on the resolution itself. So, any challenge to that resolution—if there is to be such—will have to come either in the form of an amendment or as a procedural measure, if it hopes to head off the vote on the Albanian resolution. (And unless it does edge in ahead, it would have no chance whatsoever—in the absence of the old "important-question resolution.")

In either form, the Assembly's decision to take the action—whether amending the Albanian resolution or introducing what amounts to a partial "important-question resolution" (what the Japanese call "inverse important question")—would be determined by a simple majority. The same majority that Peking now holds on the key issue could therefore block a request to amend or a bid to apply the "inverse important question" formula. Clearly, the whole anti-Peking strategy, whatever its nuances, rests on fairly weak options.

But if by some political alchemy the Assembly should find itself faced with the choice of amending the Albanian resolution, then the United States could—and would—

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vote Yes to seat Peking and No to oust Taiwan, thereby appeasing both. And if the result brought Peking in and failed to expel the Nationalists, then presumably Peking would renege and the UN would be right back where it started. That is precisely what most delegations here now want to avoid. Indeed, this has been their position ever since the vote last year, when China's friends were cautiously optimistic but lacked the high seriousness and the clearly organized sense of direction that characterize their present effort.

This year, instead of submitting their request for the China item in late summer—or whenever it was most convenient to assemble the signatories—it was done in mid-July and involved not only the request but at the same time the Memorandum of Explanation and the text of the substantive resolution itself. One complete package. More importantly, in spite of the lingering rumor that once Peking was serious about coming in, it would soften that famous Albanian resolution (demanding the seating of Peking and the expulsion of Taiwan), not a word was replaced. China, now only a stride away from the finish line, sees this as surely no time for concessions. Because the Chinese have always regarded the UN issue as primarily a matter of principle they are, logically enough, not ready to bend now.

More as a mark of high seriousness than because of any constitutional need, the sponsors have not only retained the blunt language of the Albanian resolution, but included the assertion that China is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council. This move was designed to dispel any way-out notion within the opposition that if Taiwan lost in the Assembly it might make a last-ditch try via the Security Council. This rumored scenario leans on Article XVII of the Council's Rules of Procedure which enable a member whose credentials have been questioned to remain seated until that body as a whole has acted upon the challenge. The idea would be to see that Taiwan got into her seat and then by a very questionable use of the veto, be allowed to remain.

Even if all this were correct from a parliamentary point of view, it is nothing short of outlandish: Taiwan, stripped of membership in the UN, could not sustain a position in any of the bodies of that organization. One doesn't come to the Council out of the void, as it were.

If the United States is serious about normalizing relations with Peking, she will not go beyond the mere semblance of an effort to retain Taiwan. To do more than that would be to create a deadlock from which none of the principals—save Taiwan, and only short-range at that—would profit. The real loser would be the UN, and the UN is right now riding a wave of hope.

BETTY PILKINGTON

(Betty Pilkington is the United Nations correspondent for Station WBAI in New York.)

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NIXON ON HOUSING

STATEMENT IN BLACK AND WHITE

Two trends in the civil rights movement of the last decade—the shift from racial to economic issues and the shift of white liberals from the black movement to the white community—have come together in recent efforts to provide adequate supplies of low- and moderate-income housing in suburban areas. The problem is that poor blacks are barred from housing in the suburbs by restrictive policies of the white suburban majorities. Since the location of the problem is suburban, white liberals can operate on their home turf; since the restrictive policies—mainly those discouraging limited-income housing—are based on financial considerations rather than racial ones, the economic questions are paramount.

Essentially, white liberals argue that suburban housing policies, including zoning ordinances, favor expensive single-family homes over low-cost apartment complexes and federal housing subsidy programs. They assert that blacks as a group are disproportionately poor as a result of past and present racial discrimination; therefore, policies which hurt poor people disproportionately hurt blacks. They want the federal government to use its substantial influence in locating federal installations and disbursing federal housing funds to force white suburbs to open themselves up to poor blacks by allowing limited-income housing.

President Nixon's response to such proposals, outlined in his recent statement on housing integration, is that his Administration will move against only racial discrimination. The Justice Department, the President said, will enforce the open housing laws. Blacks and whites of the same financial ability shall have equal opportunity to rent or buy suburban housing. And if government policies like zoning ordinances are used clearly as covers for racial discrimination, his Administration will challenge them, as it did recently in the Black Jack, Missouri, case. But, he continued, federal housing programs will not be used to carry out a general policy of economic integration of the suburbs. Where there is no conscious attempt by suburban officials to

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hurt blacks as blacks, the Nixon Administration will not act.

In the context of the civil rights movement in the 1960's, the Nixon doctrine on suburban integration makes sense. Racial discrimination as government policy was decisively rejected in the last decade. Even private discrimination in the sale and rental of housing was repudiated through the open housing laws. True to his conservative instincts, the President strongly endorsed the status quo in federal policies on race.

However, this policy of opposing racial discrimination, while accepting economic discrimination, is hardly the President's alone. After a decade of racial catharsis, many institutions are willing to do a great many things for poor people who are black that they are not willing to do for poor people who are just poor. The Supreme Court recently declared employment examinations which include general aptitude tests and arbitrary educational requirements to be unfair to blacks—a judgment it would be unlikely to make for poor or unschooled whites. The 1965 Voting Rights Act prohibits certain Southern states from drawing legislative districts to dilute the voting power of blacks, but says nothing of districting to disenfranchise working-class whites. Open admission at the City University of New York was instituted in 1970 not to provide equal opportunity to students of all economic backgrounds, but rather because it was felt there were too few blacks and Puerto Ricans at the school.

President Nixon says that "to equate 'poor' with 'black' does a disservice to the truth; the issues involved are separable." He is absolutely right. Most of the poor in this country are white. Most of the working class in this country is white. And most of the low- and moderate-income housing that must be provided in the suburbs is for whites.

Suburban liberals have called the disproportionate impact of economic discrimination on blacks "institutional racism." The difference between the term and "inequitable distribution of wealth" is unclear, although "institutional racism" seems to mean that it is wrong to treat poor blacks the way you treat poor whites. Is it any wonder that poor and working-class whites are angry at liberals "who are always helping the blacks"? As writer Jack Newfield has said, "By promising and not delivering to blacks and by forgetting the low-income whites, the liberal Democrats managed to anger and polarize both halves of the other America."

Nixon's answer to this dilemma is to say in effect that poor blacks will be treated like poor whites—no better, no worse. He has endorsed economic discrimination without regard to race, creed, or color. Low-income whites as well as low-income blacks have the right to be kept out of the suburbs by a multitude of local ordinances and planning decisions, according to the Nixon doctrine.

Such a policy is obviously repugnant to suburban liberals. But what is their appropriate response? Is it that Nixon's position is just another cover for racism? Or is it rather that economic discrimination (including discrimination against poor whites) is just as wrong as racial discrimination?

In our talk of the "black central cities" and the "white suburbs" we keep forgetting that when a city becomes 50 percent black, it is still 50 percent white. Urban America still has more poor and working-class whites than blacks. Frank Rizzo, who recently won the Democratic nomination for mayor of Philadelphia, knows that; so does Mayor Stenvig of Minneapolis, who was just re-elected with over 72 per cent of the vote.

The people who voted for Rizzo and Stenvig have many of the same problems as the poor blacks who personify our vision of the "central city." Their jobs are moving to the suburbs. They can't afford the exorbitant cost of automobile transportation around a metropolitan area. They, too, need reasonably priced housing. And they are rightly angry when public leaders, from Richard Nixon to John Gardner, seem more concerned about the problems of poor blacks than of poor whites—even if they are in fact the same problems.

Suburban white liberals should forthrightly and energetically support a program of economic justice for all poor and working-class Americans, black and white. No community has the right to use federal funds or public policies to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The most basic purpose of government is to protect the poor and the weak against exploitation by the rich and the strong.

A transportation program that enriches the oil companies and auto companies but penalizes the working man is wrong. A zoning ordinance that allows the corporate executive to live near his new suburban headquarters, but bars his secretary from similar access, is wrong. A community housing program which permits federally subsidized single-family homes for managers and engineers, but prohibits the use of federal programs for apartment housing for stock clerks and policemen is wrong.

Economics is the issue. Race is at most a side issue which can polarize opinion so as to block progress on the economic front. We must make clear that opening up the suburbs means opening them up for white ethnics and transplanted Appalachians as well as for blacks. Obviously the practical effect of removing restrictive local housing polices would benefit poor and working class whites as much as blacks. But it is important to say it—over and over again. In his 1968 campaign, Nixon identified these people as among America's new "Forgotten Men," and then he proceeded to forget them. White liberals must not do the same thing.

JAMES C. ROSAPEPE

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CRISIS IN PREACHING

One man's plea for radical reordering of the ministry of proclamation

EDWARD P. ECHLIN

The complaints of Roman Catholic laymen about preaching within Catholic assemblies have reached serious proportions. Young and old, progressive and traditionalist, rich and poor—all voice dissatisfaction with this vital Catholic ministry. Since proclamation is so central in uniting and nourishing the church, these complaints cannot be ignored. At a time of renewal and change, Catholic leaders have a special responsibility to provide informed ministry of the word to God's people who now demand better preaching than they have experienced. This yearning of God's people for better ministry of the word may well be the voice of the Spirit. It may in fact be the prompting of the Spirit to lead the church out of its current crisis in the ministry.

This widespread dissatisfaction indicts sermons (and religious education) that mediate the word in neo-scholastic, textbook, juridical and catechism categories. God's people yearn to experience informed preaching, solidly founded on God's revelation in Christ, which proclaims the Gospel in language and concepts appropriate for the modern, changing, historical age in which Catholics seek salvation and reconciliation. The words of Avery Dulles are pertinent: "The fact that men in the past expressed the Christian revelation in a manner suited to their own times does not mean that we should reject what they said; nor does it mean that we ought to speak the same way. Our task is to 'appropriate' what they said—to make it our own—and to express it in a contemporary form."

This does not imply that only "traditionalist" preaching is today scored as inadequate. There are criticisms voiced, especially by educated laymen, about preaching devoted almost exclusively to foreign affairs and social controversies. God's people require and even demand guidance in applying the Gospel to the piercing problems of today; but many indict sermons based almost exclusively on current events. They sense that only if they are thoroughly conversant with God's word in Christ through the ministry of their pastors will they appropriate and live their Christianity. Only if their recognized ministers of the word truly mediate the Gospel to them will they, God's priestly people, go forth to heal society.

Many laymen are doing more than complain. Some have quietly drifted away from church. Others form underground groups with a variety of dissident ministers none of whom serve in union with the bishop. And without union with bishop and compassion for human frailty these small communities repeatedly and invariably corrupt in theology and eventually dissolve. For as Karl Rahner notes, "the bishop does not ordain priests in order to endow them with powers and send them away from himself, so that each may be a priest by himself. On the contrary he bestows upon the members of his permanent presbyterate individual tasks which they are to perform in certain places. In this way he remains the episcopal father of his entire diocese." Other groups, striving to retain unity with bishop and church, have formed paraliturgical prayer and pentecostal groups. These communities are often a salutary leaven in the local church; they frequently renew a wider community's sacramental and trinitarian life. Moreover, they usually develop an unwonted compassion for official ministers who fail their needs.

These reactions—and many others—manifest discon-

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tent with the service of the word as it is experienced in the official church. The drifting away of baptized Catholics and the formation of small communities are phenomena of increasing ecclesial significance.

It is embarrassingly trite to say that there is unprecedented confusion and anxiety in the church of Rome in the wake of the postwar theological awakening and its fruition at Vatican II. It is less trite, however, to suggest that the widespread disillusionment with Catholic preaching, which we have just described, may point to the main source of the confusion currently wracking the church. I believe that if ministerial preaching were adequate to the needs of God's people there would be less post-conciliar malaise. In brief I am suggesting that the widespread phenomenon of discontent in preaching should be carefully discerned. For in the voices of God's people the Spirit continually discloses his presence.

The process of discernment, here as always, requires indifference to one's own comfort and openness to God. Where preaching is concerned, all God's people, and not just priests, must respond positively to God's grace and demand. Bishops and laymen, for example, must do whatever is demanded, including financial sacrifice, that the word of God may properly inspirit God's people as it did in the beginning. But priests and seminarians, as well as former priests considering a return to official ministry, are those brothers in our midst who must be especially open to the Spirit's voice. For it is they who are primarily involved and, if our thesis is correct, it is they especially who will be called to a life of disciplined service of the word.

For my thesis is that the ministerial pries,t as cooperator with the order of bishops, is the primary preacher in a local community, and that informed preaching is his paramount service. This thesis is hardly original; it has been a Catholic ideal, at least in some form, since the fifth century. Vatican II states: "Priests, as co-workers with their bishops, have the primary duty of proclaiming the word of God to all." (Decree on Ministry and Life of Priests, 4.) But the widespread discontent with preaching indicates that the priest's ministry of the word must be radically reordered.

Minister of the Word

A radical reordering of the ministry of proclamation will revolutionize the lifestyle of priests. I believe that as the church restructures its ministry the priest must be the primary, albeit not the only, minister of the word in a local community. This means that activism, whether administrative or social, must be only a small part of the priest's routine. He cannot preach the two-edged word of God with boldness if preaching is only a minor concern in his life. On the contrary, his whole life—in pulpit, liturgy and lifestyle—must be proclamation of the word. There will be informed preaching (by priests) only if there are informed priests. And there will be informed priests only if priests devote their lives to the word. The priest cannot really, in all honesty, serve God's word and spend his week in activism. Josef Ratzinger puts this well: "A command emerges from the central meaning of priestly ministry that every possible course of action be undertaken to confine this smothering routine to the place of lesser importance where it really belongs. The priest will then have a chance of honoring what is truly primary, namely, that the Word be ever available to all men."

Surprisingly, there persist today vestiges of a distorted image of priesthood wherein the priest was considered adequate merely because he presided at the Eucharist and administered the sacraments. But this derives from a truncated view of ministry which divorced priest and Eucharist from the church and separated the Eucharist from proclamation. The priest in his whole person is servant of the word. He is not fulfilled because he "offers sacrifice." Rather, the Eucharist is the summit of his proclamation of the saving deeds of God. The priestly ministry of the word comes to focus in the Eucharist. According to Vatican II, ". . . the Eucharist shows itself as the source and the apex of the whole work of preaching the Gospel." (Decree on Ministry and Life of Priests, 5.) Seamus Ryan notes: "The role of the priest in the Mass is to build up the mystical body of Christ through . . . the preaching of the Gospel and the sacrament of the Eucharist. But when we examine this sacrament more closely, the changing of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, we find that it takes place through the great Eucharistic prayer in which the priest leads the people, a prayer which is at the same time the preaching of the Gospel."

Through preaching of the Gospel the priest unites a community and gathers it together in the Eucharist; through preaching he guides God's people in their outgoing mission of bringing eucharistic love to society. However, if he himself spends too much of his time and energy in *direct* involvement with society's admittedly enormous problems, then he will be unable to provide informed service of the word. Here again we observe the openness to the Spirit that careful discernment demands. How can a priest do the *most* good, by social work or by disciplined preparation and ministry of the word? Here too openness to the Spirit is required not only of pastor administrators but of activist curates as well.

Meanwhile the priest's role in the church seems to be diminishing. Recent surveys indicate that seminary enrollment is dramatically down. Resignation from the ministry for service within the laity continues. Many priests, therefore, are not finding the priest's role, as it is now understood, fulfilling. It is frankly admitted even by bishops that within very few years there will be in many

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countries a critical shortage of priests. Despite sweeping reforms, seminaries are neither attracting nor holding young men; and something more than increased "freedom," security, and shared decision-making seems to be necessary if the priest is to find his identity.

I have submitted that the priest's primary role is, or should be, that of informed ministry of the word in a community. I should add, however, that the orientation of some seminaries seems to be pointed in another direction. If seminarians spend at most eight months a year at school; if their extensive vacations are devoted mainly to work and "apostolates"; if, even during their months at the seminary their weekends are frequently spent in work or travel; if their midweek courses are something less than a demanding foundational methodology for a lifetime of service of the word; then, how can we expect young priests to provide the informed service of the word for which God's people are yearning? It is perhaps significant that some clerical religious orders whose scholastics until recently spent eleven months a year in exigitive preparation for the ministry now permit students to take to the road whenever classes are recessed for a few days. It may be, as one sympathetic Protestant observer has warned, that we are preparing not lifelong ministers of the word but social workers for the early seventies.

For men already ordained the pressures to withdraw from prayer, study and thorough preparation of preaching are enormous. Improved financial circumstances, insurance, opportunity to travel, color TV, stereo, comfortable cars, the pressures of administration, committees and of course the fashionable idea that the social barricades are where the priest's action is—these pressures have proved anything but conductive to ministry of the word. Many priests now recognize this and have turned their unprecedented mobility into valuable channels such as the organization of houses of prayer, weeks of renewal and institutes in continuing education for priests.

The present situation, therefore, seems to come down to something like this: On the one hand, God's people are demanding better and more professional ministry of the word; on the other, despite hopeful signs such as those just noted, seminarians and priests are engulfed by Circean blandishments of administrative and social activism.

As one suggestion in the current dialogue within Catholicism on the role of the priest I propose that within very few years deacons and laymen should administer Catholic parishes. They are competent to assume responsibility for the "many things" hitherto so absorptive of the priest's time, including parish organizations, rudimentary religious instruction, preparation of catechumens and financial affairs. Lay men and women can and should provide such services as distribution of the Eucharist, social work, involvement in politics, civil rights and peace movements. In regions where permanent deacons are available they can provide such services as officiating at wakes and burials, devotions, marriages, visiting the sick, viaticum, extreme unction and baptism.

This proposal, at least on the surface, is anything but original. It has an all-too-familiar ring. It is in fact the very proposal, voiced by many laymen and within the heart of the priest, that has contributed to the widely recognized "identity crisis" of today's priest. Many Catholics feel that this proposal relegates the priest to presidency at the Eucharist and penance.

But this brings me back to my thesis. What is overlooked in too much of the discussion of priesthood is the priest's service of the word. Priests may have gone all the way around the world to find what they sought was in their own rectory. In the almost audible groanings of the priest, as the laity assume his former functions, the Spirit may be speaking to God's people.

There may be a convergence in the priest's search for identity and the laity's yearning for better ministry of the word. Identity is the role assigned to a man in a society, the role expected of him, the role from which he derives his lifegiving sense of personal value. While priests seek identity, laymen seek informed ministry of the word. If priests do not proclaim the Gospel, who will

build community through service of the word? We suggest that priests can find their identity as stewards of the good news in a church that hungers for this service as rarely before. While there are laymen who have stopped going to church and laymen who feel the church is moving too fast, there are also laymen like those described by Martin Work. We have all met them—and I submit that their suffering could be healed by priests dedicated to the service of preaching. "They see nothing but churning and change, stop and go, milling and disorder. Old ideas, programs and structures seem to be crumbling under attack. No adequate substitutes have yet clearly surfaced to attract them to a new and better commitment. In the meantime, their old commitment keeps them attached to the church and its institutions—but the old fire is burning low and could well suffocate."

If my suggestion has merit—and many suggestions are needed before corporate discernment can be reached—

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then a revolution in the lifestyle of many priests will be mandatory. For informed ministry of the Gospel demands a fulltime lifetime of prayer, study, contemplation, discussion, preparation, awareness of society's yearnings, and in a word, discipline. The priest paradoxically will be more available for excellent preaching by being less available for administration and social work. The laity too will sacrifice; they must support priests, including forthcoming married priests, as servants of the community's proclamation. They must, in addition, assume the myriad chores and activities which have withdrawn the priest from service of the word.

Obviously this means there will be fewer priests. For if many are called to activism, few are chosen for disciplined and dedicated ministry of the word. And this too may be the direction in which the Spirit is guiding us. The restoraton of the diaconate by Vatican II and the Council's acknowledgement that the laity participate in the ministry of service indicate that the church is radically restructuring its ministry, a restructuring which may result in fewer priests.

A corollary to my thesis is that if priests inspire their communities through informed preaching, then *many* Christians will work to reconcile society. Through the ministry of priests God's people will understand that, in the words of Richard McBrien, "the world, in the final accounting, needs a church which, as an eschatological community, never rests until the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ are everywhere realized and extended." Priests alone cannot realize and extend the Gospel. Through preaching, however, they can inspire many brethren to extend the principles of the Gospel.

I can illustrate this thesis by an example from the middle ages. We read in the chronicles of the university city of Bologna for 1204 that "in this year Albert of Mantua came to Bologna and preached there for six weeks. And many were converted." Within this pre-reformation context "'conversion" means interior conversion from mere formalism to a life of effective Christian reconciliation.

And what American society needs from the church is Christian reconciliation. Through the dedicated preaching of priests—in liturgy, word and life—the American church could be "converted" from apathy and confusion to the mission of reconciliation in American society.

Perhaps some future chronicler will write that in the seventies the priest found his identity—as informed minister of the word—and that "many were converted."

INSTANT CHURCH

Discovering a community of faith and love, and celebrating it

WILLIAM H. CLEARY

We had a birthday party for our church on May 1st. We're one year old. And growing. We haven't had any exodus of ministers. No neglect of the sacraments. No scandal from the top. No dangerous practices creeping in on the local level. That's because we only exist on the local level. And there's no top—only a kind of deacon who serves from under: myself. And we have only two sacraments so far, eucharist and baptism (to date, one child). And our minister, a priest-filmmaker with a commercial business to run, is too deep in debt to exodus in *any* direction.

It all began one day when my wife and I were attending Mass and our local parish priest, who had successfully fought off liturgical renewal, decided to experiment with a third collection. The first had wiped out offertory petitions. The second fractured the end off the canon. The third broke up the communion. That was the final blow. My wife and I found ourselves "outside" the established (local) church where there seemed *nulla salus* unless we went church-shopping, an endless search, I am told.

So we hit upon the idea of starting our own, our own Roman Catholic church. And it has worked quite nicely. Its simple structure is just this: a layman holds it together. He starts by inviting his friends, and they invite their friends. He brings in a priest, he makes sure there is enough of what's needed for Mass each week, he assists in organizing what interest there is in joint projects. (We once made a retreat together.) It is a simple job with no theological requirements. No three-year training program. No celibacy rule. No age limits. A deaconship that is 90 percent fun. But it has achieved the very serious goal of making the eucharist of the Lord available to twenty or so of us every week for a year now. And there is no end in sight.

We're as motley and diverse a group of Christians as ever gathered around the Lord's table. Age-wise we start with Alice, a peppy recent college grad with granny glasses and pigtails, whose job is to look after some 250 senior citizens who live alone. On the upper end of our age scale is portly, white-bearded George, a writer, who

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is loved for his colorful language in dialogue. In between are ten married couples that include public school teachers, graduate students, nurses, college professors, a *Time* magazine executive, some housewives and an insurance salesman. And finally, three priests still active in the official ministry.

We have problems. No blacks have as yet agreed to join. (Some have been invited.) No poor people either. We find ourselves at a roughly comparable middle-income level, and many of us have similar educational backgrounds. All this has troubled us from time to time, as we ask: are we elitist? isolated? And often we wonder if we are doing the right thing in, in effect, abandoning our neighborhood churches, which might be in need of our energies and insights.

While I cannot speak for the whole group, my own conviction is that the way we are celebrating the eucharist together every week could become the most common style in this country. There could also remain a satisfactory style of Mass for whole neighborhoods, and for these our ordinary parish buildings would serve well. But in many neighborhoods people do not know each other, and while they are still members of a kind of community, it is hardly an ideal community for the eucharist. Ours, I believe, comes close to being such. We are friends or have come to be friends. We have to believe in each other. We can communicate. We've taken time to hear each other out. We are interested in each other's problems and pray over them in the group. And of course every week we are reminded, through offertory petitions, of problems larger than ourselves: the war, racial divisions, sickness, the demoralization of our society, and especially the poor.

The Collection

Speaking of poverty, the ancient rite known as "the collection" (and it *is* ancient, going back to St. Paul) has become for us a kind of new sacrament of poverty. In our church the plate is near the door when you enter, and everyone—including the priest—donates one dollar, a symbolic gift. During Mass the twenty-odd dollars are handed over by the priest to someone in the group to give away to the needy. Then a report on what happened to the money is expected the following week, the story of which gives a nice start to the liturgy each week.

Which reminds me of the way our very first liturgy started a year ago: with a dance. We have long since given up on the liturgical dance, but our attempt at it was a very illuminating episode—a light of some value perhaps to all deacons, I would think. My wife and I were going to folk dancing class at the time, and one very simple Israeli dance called "Mana-vu" seemed perfectly appropriate for Mass, easy to learn, and fun to do. Alas, our Christian friends found it only bewildering. Some couldn't learn it, most didn't want to very badly. Lesson for deacons: the best service is to organize and bring together whatever has already inspired the community. Don't try to run things your way.

On balance, I rate our experiment a success thus far. I certainly enjoy going every week. Our service—which is quite conventional by current standards—begins every Sunday at 12 noon, goes just one hour. We meet in a convent school, starting in the library for the liturgy of the Word. Our priest is vested. A hymn accompanied by guitar starts things off, then prayers follow. The Word is read. Then one of the group, a man or woman, gives a carefully prepared homily, one of the most satisfying elements of the service. This is usually followed by discussion. Then together we pray the Creed, and move to the chapel where small glasses filled with wine and usually matzos for bread are on the altar. We follow one of the four canonical eucharists with many variations in method of recitation. We stand around the altar of course, and proceed to "give thanks to God the Father, with hymns and psalms to the Lord, and praise in our hearts, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Eph. 5/19). We close with coffee and conversation, with various groups going off to spend the afternoon together.

It's Instant Church—discovering an already existing community of faith and love and celebrating it—and accessible to anyone with a few Catholic friends who will give it a try and with a priest friend who can, and wants to, help. A good number of priests would love to serve this kind of community but hesitate (I think naturally) to be the main organizer. The group feels much better when they can choose their priest anyway. And the priest should make himself a member of the community from the start so that he would naturally attend the eucharist even when some other priest is leading.

Thus Instant Church. But expect trouble, deacon. The Christian who gets some inadvertent rough treatment during a dialogue homily can leave in a huff just as easily as Michael Caerularius left the Roman Church for Constantinople in the 11th century. And the servant of these servants of God, be he called deacon or pope, will at times find himself mediating smoldering conflicts no less complicated than those that bewildered Paul at Corinth; and at crucial moments (as when you run out of wine) seemingly surrounded by apathy and prophets of doom.

But like all those who must run a church, I sigh and carry on. And thank God our church is not also a financial empire, a sovereign country full of princes and monsignori, or a central office where ten thousand branch churches look for guidance. We're just some friends that believe together and who meet every week to keep the fires of that faith alive. And Jesus, according to his promise, is in the midst of us. That is enough. More than enough.

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THE SCREEN

The arrival of a Robert Bresson film new to this country is for many of us a cause for huzzahs. But for a larger number of moviegoers it is only a so-what occasion. I can think of few other film-makers of distinction whose works have been so by-passed even by thoughtful audiences for whom they were intended. So it is to be hoped that his current release *Une Femme Douce* (called in some English-speaking countries *A Gentle Creature*) and its maker will win the attention they deserve.

Right from the beginning, uncompromising Bresson proved a problem to his commercial distributors, although with his first two feature films, well-known writers collaborated with director Bresson in writing his scripts. Jean Giraudoux wrote the dialogue for *Les Anges du Péché* (1943) and Father R. L. Bruckberger served as religious adviser on this story concerned with nuns and convent life. Jean Cocteau wrote the dialogue for *Les Dames du Bois de Boulogne* (1945), a complicated love story with a Paris social background. While these two films won some praise from critics, they were box-office failures. And it was five years before Bresson made his next picture.

The tremendous success of *Diary of a Country Priest* (1950) after Bresson's years of struggling along has always reminded me of Emily Dickinson's poem about the little gentian that tried to be a rose and failed, and all the summer laughed. "But just before the snows there came a purple creature that ravished all the hill; and summer hid her forehead and mockery was still." At the poem's end, the poet asks, "Creator, shall I bloom?"

With *Diary of a Country Priest,* Bresson bloomed in a big way. He wrote the script himself (from the novel by Georges Bernanos) and never used collaborators again —although he sometimes based his plots on known works. In stunning black-and-white photography, *Diary* tells the sad story of an intensely sincere young priest who fails to win his parishioners; they prefer to adjust religion to their own modes of life instead of following any rules of conduct laid down by their strict pastor. The young curé becomes unpopular and then ill. When he dies, we realize his death is a form of escape from the mean-spirited people he tried to help.

Escape is often a theme for Bresson, and his next film, *A Condemned Man Escapes* (1956), is an intellectual thriller that concentrates on the planning and execution of a Frenchman's escape from his Gestapo captors. Interestingly, we hardly see the Germans at all, but we get to know the prisoners well—and we become him as *we* escape.

I found myself quite cool to Bresson's next movie, *Pickpocket* (1959), probably because the non-actor in the title role was so unconvincing that the story itself didn't seem very interesting. It is obvious in *Pickpocket* that Bresson's insistence on using non-professionals does not always work. The only other Bresson film I did not care for is *Au Hasard Balthazar* (1966), and this was because a donkey plays the main character and animal stories are just not my dish of tea. Even as a child, I avoided *Black Beauty* and *Dog of Flanders. Balthazar,* which was highly praised by many critics, is no doubt meant to be an allegory about man's cruelty. I found it a bore. No doubt donkey-lovers loved it.

While some critics were cool to Bresson's 1962 *The Trial of Joan of Arc,* I was most enthusiastic and liked it even better than Carl Dreyer's *Passion of Joan of Arc.* Bresson wrote his script from the transcript of the trial itself, and we realize from it that Joan was not just an illiterate country lass. Bresson's Joan conducts herself well, and we feel as we watch the film: This is a woman, this is a saint—something we never feel from Dreyer's endless close-ups.

The heroine of Bresson's current picture, *Une Femme Douce,* is also a real woman, but no saint. The film opens with her suicide; and flashbacks show us what led up to it. It is a touching and bitter story, first showing the penniless young woman pawning a few last treasures, winning the attention of the pawnbroker, and, after a brief (almost no) courtship, marrying him. The marriage is a disaster; and their middle-class lives together become dull and uninspired. Bresson's austere direction portrays their lack of companionship perfectly.

As usual, Bresson uses non-professional actors, and the portraits by the two leads are excellent: Dominique Sanda as the pretty young wife who dreams of better things; Guy Fragin as the stuffy husband who doesn't understand his wife at all. Even as the camera departs from the flashbacks from time to time and returns to the present with the dead wife on the bed and the husband standing or kneeling beside her, we realize that the husband still does not understand what happened or how he failed his wife.

Une Femme Douce is Bresson's first film in color, and he uses it beautifully. This one, like most of Bresson's pictures, does not make it easy for audiences. But like almost of Bresson's pictures, the audience is well rewarded for attending and paying close attention.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

Summer Schedule

In keeping with the usual practice, *Commonweal* is again appearing on alternate weeks during the summer months. Forthcoming issues will be dated September 3 and September 17. From then on we will resume our normal weekly publishing schedule.

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'LAW AND ORDER,' SAID HITLER . . . . OR DID HE?

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JOACHIM REMAK

July 1969

As a special treat, the *Los Angeles Times* is reprinting the commencement address given by Meldon E. Levine, a member of this year's graduating class, at his alma mater, the Harvard Law School. The address, notes the *Times*, has "attracted national attention." This strikes me as a tribute to American kindness. Or masochism. The young are beautiful, says Mr. Levine. The young are moral. Hear the protesters, old men, for you are neither. Yet once you were, and all I and my friends wish to do is to put into practice the moral vision you once had, before your conscience atrophied. And you had better follow us now, quickly, before our patience is exhausted. "We have tried every possible peaceful means. . . . We have signed petitions. . . . We have had teach-ins. We have marched." And to what avail? To the wail avail! To that of revealing to us "the inflexibility and the insensitivity of our system."

> I have asked many of my classmates what they wanted me to say in this address. "Talk with them about hypocrisy," most of them said, "'Tell them they have broken the best heads in the country, embittered the most creative minds, and turned off their most talented scholars. Tell them that they have destroyed our confidence and lost our respect. Tell them that, as they use the phrase, 'law and order' is merely a substitute for reason and an alternative to justice."

The old mixture, then. Flattery and threats, held together by clichés. (And much more succinctly put by the 1970 graduating speaker at UCLA, who would say, "We are frustrated. Four years ago we called for an end of war and racial discrimination. We still have them.") What intrigues me, though, is the opening. It's what is called a shocker in the business, a sockeroo, and goes:

> "The streets of our country are in turmoil. The universities are filled with students rebelling and rioting. Communists are seeking to destroy our country. Russia is threatening us with her might. And the republic is in danger. Yes, danger from within and without. We need law and order! . . . without law and order our nation cannot survive . . ."
>
> These words were spoken in 1932 by Adolf Hitler.

I think I have seen this passage cited about three times now in the past six weeks or so, each time in an effort to support some basically dubious case. Dubious case, dubious means. For in the first place, to say "Hitler liked it, hence it must be wrong," strikes me as a pretty cheap way of making a point. Unless, that is, we are all willing to go on two packs a day since Hitler never smoked, or to get out some old speech of his in which he expressed his dislike of an excessive rate of unemployment, and to draw the reverse conclusions from *that*. In the second place, I think the quote is a fake. I just spent two years putting together a book on the Nazi period, in the course of which I had the non-pleasure of going over most of Hitler's speeches. Yet I can remember no such passage. Nor does it in the least sound like Hitler, who was concerned neither over rioting students—he rather liked those in 1932, a majority of them were rioting for him—nor over threats to the survival of the Weimar Republic.

Let it go? Or write a letter to the *Times*? There is a ring to that phrase, so I write a letter. Might Mr. Levine indicate just where Hitler spoke these words, and when, and where one might find them cited? The *Times* does not print it, nor, apparently, will it forward it to the speaker, so the query goes unanswered.

March 1970

I try to forget the experience. Here I am, and things of mine have appeared in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, and in *The Journal of Central European History*, and the *Times* won't run my letter. The System is tugging away at my patience and losing my respect.

And how can I forget when I keep running across the blasted quotation? (One of my regrets is that I failed to keep score. How many times have I seen it since last summer? Twice? Three times? I am not sure. But I keep seeing it. It's following me, officer.) Now there is a letter to the local paper, the *Santa Barbara News-Press*. Pause, oh suppressors of the counter-culture, it says, remember that it was Adolf Hitler who back in 1932 said, "The streets of our country are in turmoil. . . . We need law and order! . . ."

Was I wrong after all? Is it I who represents the American mood, 1970, high on indignation, low on facts? I go through Klöss, *Reden des Führers*. Nothing. Domarus, *Adolf Hitler, Reden und Proklamationen*. Nothing. Roussy de Sales, *My New Order*. Nothing. Baynes, *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler*. Nothing. But then none of these are complete collections.

I have some support, though. This time, there is a letter in response, voicing doubts about the authenticity of the quote. Could the first writer please dispel them by listing the source? The first writer is silent.

Well I won't be, now that I have an

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ally. I write the *News-Press,* saying that I too doubted the accuracy, or even the bare existence, of these words, but that I would be glad to say I was wrong if the Hitler-quoters would give me a source reference along with their opinions. The letter is picked up by the local columnist. The power structure is trying to co-opt me; now I know how it feels. Unhelpful, for no one comes forward.

April 1970

There is a book out by Justice William O. Douglas, *Points of Rebellion,* which contains what one reviewer calls "a chilling reminder."

A huge bureaucracy of faceless men has taken over this country, writes the Judge. The individual is helpless in the face of all this facelessness. How can he fight the network of entrenched interests! Yet fight he must, for if we are to be saved, a "vast restructuring of our society is needed." And perhaps he can fight back after all. "The use of violence is deep in our history." Shay's Rebellion, the Whiskey Rebellion, the sit-down strikers of the 1930s—and now the protests at our colleges that have "spread like a prairie grass fire." A noble tradition, and those currently following it, the college rebels, may be our brightest hope yet. "The modern day dissenters and protesters are functioning as the loyal opposition functions in England. They are the mounting voice of political opposition to the status quo, calling for revolutionary change in our institutions."

But are the faceless men, the "powers-that-be," getting the message? No (and here comes the chilling reminder), they instead of listening, "echo" Adolf Hitler, who said in 1932:

> The streets of our country are in turmoil. The universities are filled with students rebelling and rioting.
>
> Communists are seeking to destroy our country. Russia is threatening us with her might and the republic is in danger. Yes, danger from within and without.
>
> We need law and order.

End of that chapter.

The book contains a small treasury of other inaccuracies, but this one is all mine. I write a letter to Mr. Justice Douglas. Would he permit me to ask where I might find the quotation? I would not normally bother him with a question like this, I say, but I have seen the passage several times now without ever being able to trace it to its source.

There is a reply by return mail. My first letter from a Supreme Court Justice. Or rather my first envelope, for the letter is written by his secretary, but it is as kind as it is prompt. "The Justice took the passage from Hitler in his book *Points of Rebellion* from an English source but since then we have not been able to find it in German."

Thank you, I say, writing back, and might it be possible to identify that English source for me, since it ought to be very useful in tracing the quote back to its German original?

Again, a prompt reply. Sorry, but that title was not available. In fact, the Library of Congress had been asked to verify the quotation and been unable to do so—and they had the resources.

Error admitted. End of the affair.

April-May 1970

Parade magazine for April 26. "QUOTATION TO PONDER:"

> "The streets of our country are in turmoil. The universities are filled with students rebelling and rioting. Communists are seeking to destroy our country. Russia is threatening us with her might and the Republic is in danger.
>
> "We need law and order. Yes, without law and order our nation cannot survive. Elect us and we shall restore law and order."—Adolf Hitler, in an electioneering speech in Hamburg, Germany, 1932.

I sort of like the "elect us" addition, and "Republic" should have been upper cased before. There is nothing like giving the emperor's clothes a better fit.

A letter to *Parade.* Might I ask a question . . . A reply from the editor, two weeks later: "The source of our information is Joachim Schonbeck of the press section of the German Chancellery in Washington, D.C. Mr. Schonbeck told us he had verified the quotation from the Institute for History of National Socialism in Munich. Thank you for writing and for your interest in *Parade.*"

Well, there is, as far as I know, no Institute for History of National Socialism anywhere, though there is an Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, and it is a very good one, but I do not think that its resources are that much better than those of the Library of Congress, so let's let that one ride. Beside, there *is* a German Embassy in Washington, and embassies have chancelleries, and I write to Mr. Schonbeck (Schoenbeck').

May 1970

No reply from Mr. Schonbeck. But the "Hamburg electioneering speech" offers the sort of concrete clue, not always present before, that might be worth following up.

Initial research yields few results. There were too many elections in Germany in 1932—two for the Reichstag; two since there would have to be a runoff, for President; and any number of provincial elections. But there it is now, the dedicated scholar's lucky strike, Newton's apple Schliemann's Troy: Hitler, says Domarus, gave an election speech in Hamburg on March 1, 1932. He quotes nothing of the speech, but there it is, place and date. Over the weekend, I shall go to the Hoover Library at Stanford, which has the West's finest collection of Nazi newspapers, and look at the *Völkischer Beobachter* for early March, 1932.

This turns out to be a mistake. The protesters, Mr. Justice Douglas' loyal opposition, have been there first. The glass is smashed, and the library closed. Motives are hard to establish. After

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all, the Hoover has the West's finest collection of Bolshevik memorabilia, too, Leninist, Trotskyite, or Maoist. But there is that blood-curdling name, I suppose, and I have heard it said that they have some Republicans on their staff. But I am guessing; another account I hear is that Her Majesty's opposition was on the way to burn down the ROTC building, and either was carrying a bad road map, or else had some rocks left over.

Where whole windows got broken, they are boarded up with plywood. Lesser damage is patched up with strips of brown paper. Beautiful, says a very distinguished, and short-sighted, scholar from Taiwan. What lovely ideograms they have been putting up here.

Well, if I can't get in I can't get in.

Fortunately, the Hoover also has the West's most competent research librarian, who has been doing the hard part of my work for years. I write her a note, after returning to the more familiar vandalism on my campus. Might she have someone go over the *Völkische Beobachter* for March 2 and 3 to see whether there was a Hitler speech in Hamburg containing anything resembling the law and order quotation, and if so, have a Xerox made?

Quick reply: that won't be necessary. "For once I can answer a question right off the top of my head. I have been asked several times about this Hitler quotation, and I spent considerable time last fall checking it out through all the sources, including the 'Völkische Beobachter.' The quotation as such does not exist . . . My initial attention was drawn to the quotation by Miss Kay Boyle, the author, who wrote to Hoover at the suggestion of William Shirer. She also wrote to Senator Muskie who had originally used the quotation and asked him his source. He had his research assistants check the Library of Congress where they could not find it, so there it goes!"

July 1970

Good enough? Not quite. When the local columnist had picked up my indignant letter, he printed it together with a communication from another reader—let me call him Mr. E.—suggesting that there had appeared, in the *National Catholic Register* for September 12, 1969, an article casting strong doubts on the accuracy of the quote. Well, I was strong on doubts myself, but it now occurs to me that I might look up that article and compare results. No *National Catholic Register* at the university, none in the public library. I try the Hoover. Sorry, comes the reply, but we "don't think there is such a publication." There did exist a "*National Catholic Reporter*, issued in Kansas City, but it does not have a September 12, 1969, issue, only a September 10, 1969, and it does not include an article on the quotation. Sorry." (Later, a learned friend supplies some facts hidden even from the Hoover. There is a *Register* after all. For a while it was called just that, without the *National*, and used in several places as a diocesan paper, with local sections added. Then it went liberal some years ago, changed its name to the *National Catholic Register*, then more recently not so liberal, though it kept the new name intact. This is interesting, but I still cannot find it here.)

I make a phone call to the reader, maybe he has a copy of whatever the journal is called. A woman's voice answers. No, no gentleman by that name there. I check the phone number with her. Yes, the number I am calling is the one listed in the telephone book, but the book has it listed wrong, it's not Mr. E.'s number. Why don't I check with information. I do. Yes, that's Mr. E.'s number. I cannot quit at this point. I write Mr. E. a note—I'd be very interested in the article, could he spare me a copy. It just comes back, with one of those pretty nineteenth century accusing fingers on it, saying "Addressee unknown. Do not use this envelope wrapper again." I do not think I will. Someone else can figure this one out.

August 1970

Apologies from Mr. Schoenbeck at the German Embassy. He's been out of the country for a few months. Not that, for present purposes, it made much difference. "The authentication of the Hitler quotes demanded by you cannot be given by this embassy. Therefore, when Mr. Lloyd Shearer of *Parade Magazine* called me in March 70, I advised him to get in touch with the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, Möhlstrasse 26. He apparently did not follow my advice. In the meantime, however, I learned that the Munich Institute was also not able to verify the quotation. I hope that this information settles the question and remain," etc.

September 1970

Well, yes. Besides, the quotation seems to have vanished from the scene. The protesters' Lent? Or a variation on Gresham's law—the faster counterfeit currency is spent, the better the chances of its getting lost?

October 1970

Nothing, dear diary. It's dead.

December 1970

Governor Reagan has been paying a visit to his alma mater, Eureka College in Illinois. "He wore maroon and gold academic robes," reports the *Los Angeles Times*, "and was the undisputed hit at the dedication of the Reagan Physical Education Center, named for him and his brother, Neil."

A happy academic occasion. Or at least until the student body president shared with the assembled guests the fruits of his wisdom and research. "The president of the student senate, Dana Becker, read a quote that complained of student turmoil, and that said, 'We shall return to law and order.' The quote, said Becker, came from 'Adolph Hitler and the year was 1932.' "

Let's go to the Hoover Library and find out what Hitler did say.

December 1970

I do, and all the glass is back in place. No Hamburg papers for March 1932, but the *Völkische Beobachter, V. B.* for short, is there. The Hamburg speech turns out to have been one of a series of speeches given by Hitler

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while campaigning for President against Hindenburg. He started in February, and then spoke daily in March—March 1 Hamburg, March 2 Stettin, March 3 Berlin, March 4 Leipzig, March 5 Nuremberg, March 6 Frankfurt, and so on until March 13, 1932, election day. A triumphal tour, or as the March 4 *V. B.* headline has it, "YESTERDAY 15,000 HAMBURGERS, TODAY 20,000 POMERANIANS."

It is, all things considered, a surprisingly gentle speech. He does not hate his opponent, but he would ask the voters to consider Hindenburg's age. "The decisive factor is not whether an old man of eighty possesses certain personal attractions, but whether he can give life to us, the young." He is not particularly abusive even when he comes to his Marxist foes, and there does not seem to be a word against the Jews. The accent is on the positive, and the tone is reassuringly vague. "The road taken by our Movement in the last thirteen years has been one vast triumphal procession, and its essence is that in a world given to despair, National Socialism has returned to our people the great and powerful German faith. We have given the German people a Movement in which a people is being lifted up again!"

I read the speech three times, not for its beauty, but to find the law and order quotation. It is not there.

February 1971

Now you can buy it for your wall. There is a two page ad in *Saturday Review*, and among the "Up Against the Wall—Marboro Posters" offered is one in "dayglo red, white and blue, 21" x 38"," with the law-and-order quote on the bottom and a swastika plus a five pointed star at the top, and another, same quote same colors, but with one hell of a clever design: swastika superimposed on stars and stripes, except that where you'd expect the stars to be, there are these words from "Adolph Hitler, 1932."

April 1971

Yes, says Herr Keuner, but *couldn't* he have said it?

BOOKS

The spoils of politics: patronage

To the Victor . . . : Political Patronage from the Clubhouse to the White House

MARTIN AND SUSAN TOLCHIN

Random House, $7.95

RALPH WHITEHEAD JR.

I got my first offer of a patronage job at the age of 16. It was the spring of 1960, and the Republicans were going to hold their national convention at the International Amphitheatre in Chicago. They needed several score teenagers to work as ushers, pages, clerks. The job was to run for 10 days and pay $16.50 a day.

What was striking about this job offer was its source: my grandfather, George Donoghue. For he was an Irish Catholic, a lifelong machine Democrat, and, at the time, several years before his death, a top-ranking member of Richard Daley's administration. That's right: at the Republican National Convention of 1960, the patronage—or, at least, a good share of it—was handled by the Democrats.

Well, this really shouldn't be much of a surprise. As the authors of *To the Victor . . .* so graciously concede, "Chicago is the patronage capital of the world." Nor is Mayor Daley's Chicago the only likely place for such a thing to occur. For—and here's the point of this richly anecdotal book—patronage enjoys a life of its own. Oftentimes, it need pay little heed to party labels or public images.

One nationally-known governor, for example, was told by an aide during their early days in the statehouse: "Let's wheel and deal and do some trading." Yet, the governor wouldn't have any of it. He spurned patronage altogether, refused to fire any state employes (his predecessor had sacked 2,000 on a single day to make way for his own people), and made sure politically controlled state contracts for fuel and computer services gave way to competitive bidding. "People believe that waste and looking after friends is proper," intoned the governor." "It is, if you want to put politics first," he added. "If you want to put government and efficiency first, it isn't . . ."

This same governor also put an unprecedented number of blacks into public jobs: 15 of them joined the local draft boards, 58 came into the revenue departments, and others even got into the state's Little FBI. Altogether, it was quite a record of reform for Lester Maddox.

Things went differently for New York City's beleaguered whiffenpoof, John Lindsay. He decided early on to sharpen his lance on the jobs, favors and titles of patronage. "It will be a fight, for patronage seldom has been legislated away with the willing consent of those who have benefited from this patronage," said Lindsay, and he was absolutely correct. He began his charge by denouncing New York City's labor leadership. And thus he became the first mayor of a major American city to adopt paralysis—as opposed to stagnation—as public policy.

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Eventually, though, Lindsay turned into something of a swinger on patronage deals. He did some zoning favors for the Catholics and for several major campaign contributors. He increased the number of city patronage jobs by tenfold to 15,000. He shuttled some nice contracts to architectural firms and engineering companies, as well as to a whole array of hustling urban crisis consultants. (Politically, these contracts are exquisite: they're awarded not by competitive bidding but by negotiation.) During Lindsay's first term, the amount of tax money spent every year on such projects increased more than nine times to $75 million. It was all part of his administration's bold response to the urban dilemma to be able to underwrite breakthrough research. As the authors report: "A $150,000 transportation study of the Bronx by Frederick H. Harris was 75 pages long and contained detailed descriptions of the history of the Bronx, the topography of the Bronx, and the traffic patterns of the Bronx—the thrust of which was that whether one was in Riverdale or Mosholu Parkway, traffic tended to move toward Manhattan in the mornings and away from Manhattan in the evenings."

One oversight does weaken this book. Its account of the uses of patronage at government's top levels—the office of the mayor, or the governor, or the president—is strong and thorough. (Sometimes too thorough: the book is aimed at the textbook market, among others, and, at a few spots, perhaps for the benefit of the student reader, it will doggedly chase a point through long, arid stretches of the self-evident.) Yet, the book doesn't follow patronage —jobs, particularly—as it trickles into some of the lower layers of the political apparatus.

It's fine to know if a governor gives 25 jobs to a rural county chairman or if a mayor assigns 500 jobs to a ward leader. However, it's also vital to know how the county chairman or the ward leader handles those jobs. Some politicians will make sure the jobs get to scramblers, responsible people: vote-getting, money-raising, stamp-licking

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people. Others will waste the jobs on girl friends, pathetic halfwits, or shirttail cousins. Occasionally some pol will even get a job for his pinko grandsons. And those jobs, politically, will often come to nought.

The Moral Rules

BERNARD GERT

Harper and Row, $6.95

JAMES M. GUSTAFSON

Before I began to write this review of Professor Gert's book, I read in the preface to Richard Taylor's *Good and Evil* that the whole rationalistic tradition in ethics is wrong. And he begins his first chapter with "Traditionally, philosophical ethics has tried to answer the question, 'what is good for man?' That is the question this book tries to answer."

Bernard Gert, of Dartmouth, tells us that "what is good for man?" is the wrong question. His basic question is "what is evil for man?" He also subtitles his book "A New Rational Basis for Morality." Gert's argument is that whereas it is not possible for all rational men to agree on what is good, they can agree on what is evil. Books that are at once tightly argued and comprehensive in scope are notoriously difficult to review; I hope that a characterization of the argument will persuade others to give it careful study.

The basic material principle of Gert's ethics can be succinctly stated: prevent evil. It is not "Do good and avoid evil" as Christians have normally believed. "Moral rules do not tell one to promote good, but to avoid causing evil. Thus it is not an accident that all moral rules are, or can be, stated as prohibitions" (p. 69). "All rational men" can agree on certain things being evil, and thus the first five of Gert's decalogue: Don't kill. Don't cause pain. Don't disable. Don't deprive of freedom or opportunity. Don't deprive of pleasure. The second five are: don't deceive; keep your promises; don't cheat; obey the law; do your duty. Obedience to these moral rules, he seeks to demonstrate, is *required* by reason, rather than only *allowed* by reason. An immoral act is one that violates one of these moral rules.

These moral rules are not, however, exceptionless. Gert returns to a discussion of the principle of universalizability at several points in his volume. Basically he replaces it with a principle of "public advocacy." Thus, it is morally right to violate a moral rule when the exception to it can be publicly advocated in such a way that rational men would agree to the exception. The material principle that determines whether such advocacy is correct is one of lesser evil; when lesser evil is inflicted by breaking one of the moral rules, reason allows—if it does not require—it. Morality, however, includes moral ideals as well as moral rules. Moral ideals, as distinguished from utilitarian or other non-moral ideals, also deal with the prevention of evil, but they go beyond the minimal requirements of rules, and provide a "positive guide to life." Moral virtues are correlated with moral rules and ideals: "a moral virtue is any trait of character that all rational men would publicly advocate that all men possess," (p. 156) that is, any habit of obeying moral rules or following moral ideals.

The argument has strong appeals. If one is seeking that on which all rational men can agree as, per definition, what ethics is about, then the minimalist material principle in this book makes sense. "All I have attempted to do is to provide a limit to genuine moral disputes; to show that there is a point beyond which rational men can no longer disagree about what morally should be done" (p. 100). Both his principle of preventing evil, and his more formal structure are developed to minimize, rather than eliminate, moral disagreements. Too often moral philosophy and theology have attempted to claim too much as that upon which all rational men can agree.

Further, there is much to be said in favor of his claim that he has shown a way to overcome two major debates in moral philosophy. Relative to that between formalists and those critics who believe their proposals are devoid of content, he can write that his formal criteria of moral rules has precisely the content that the critics usually want; the rules that are required by reason prevent evil. Relative to the debate between deontologists and teleologists, he writes that the former failed to see that moral rules have to be interpreted, and the latter failed to see that man must use rules to achieve the point of morality. (It is probably the case that Catholic moral philosophy and theology have never been trapped by either of these polarities, and thus have a basic affinity with Gert at this point.)

In keeping with an empiricist tradition, Gert avoids making the sorts of ontological statements used to ground much of morality in the Christian tradition. Again his limited claims may facilitate discourse.

Gert's argument, like that of other moral philosophers, rests heavily on his distinction between the moral and the non-moral. Moral actions are those which follow moral rules; moral rules, we have seen, lead to the prevention of evil. This suggests that when one also is seeking to "promote the good," one is working in some framework other than that of ethics. For Gert, the criterion for a moral rule is that all rational men are required by reason to follow it. So, the question is whether that is a satisfactory criterion. Does the distinction not become a stipulative one? Probably any other distinction also becomes stipulative at some point, but I wish to suggest the importance of Gert's distinction for all the rest of his argument. It is the point at which those in the religious traditions that have included "doing good" as central to the moral life must carry out their argument with Gert.

Gert's argument is important to confront as one seeks to work out a more "positive" morality. Always one gets into the difficulty of the relations of the moral (in a restrictive sense) to the non-moral. Certainly, insofar as getting the widest possible agreement is the goal, Gert's argument is persuasive. But many practical questions emerge at other points in experience, and persons seek to find justification for choosing

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the greater good as well as the lesser evil. Gert's admiration for Hobbes, whom he calls "the best classical moral philosopher," is important to note. There might be other "ways of life" or views of life which lead to different conceptions of morality. Gert's distinction between what is required and what is allowed by reason, however, is useful in moving toward a more positive view.

Gert's work is distinctive and important, both for ethical theory, and for the minimizing of disagreements in a pluralistic society. I hope that readers are not put off by the bold, if not pretentious, claims inserted in the Preface.

The Autobiography of a Schizophrenic Girl

MARGUERITE SECHEHAYE

New American Library, $.75

BARBARA LAWRENCE

"For me, madness was definitely not a condition of illness," the author of this autobiography, a young Swiss woman called "Renee," writes in the early pages of her story. "I did not believe that I was ill. It was rather a country opposed to Reality, where reigned an implacable light, blinding, leaving no place for shadow; an immense space without boundary, limitless, flat; a mineral, lunar country, cold as the wastes of the North Pole. In this stretching emptiness, all is unchangeable, immobile, congealed, crystallized. Objects are . . . geometric cubes without meaning. People turn weirdly about. They make movements without sense."

At the height of her illness, when she was unable to feel any connection, even with her therapist (Swiss psychoanalyst, Marguerite Sechehaye) it was "things" that haunted Renee most—the outlines, the surfaces, "the gloss and smoothness" of objects.

"When, for example, I looked at a chair or a jug, I thought not of their use or function—a jug not as something to hold water and milk, a chair not as something to sit in—but as having lost their names, their functions and meanings. . . ."

Conventional therapy did not help Renee. Indeed it seemed to make her worse. It was only when Marguerite Sechehaye began to use a newly evolving technique of her own ("symbolic realization") that there was suddenly a change for the better. Sensing that the one way to reach Renee was to offer her some equivalent for the nourishment and love of which she had been critically deprived as a baby, Mme. Sechehaye began symbolically to breast-feed her twenty-one-year-old patient.

"She put the piece (of apple) in my mouth, and with my eyes closed, my head against her breast, I ate, or rather drank my 'milk.' A nameless felicity flowed into my heart. It was as though, suddenly, by magic, all my agony . . . had given place to a blissful calm. . . . I was content, with a passive contentment, the contentment of a tiny baby, quite unconscious, for I did not even know what caused it."

Immediately afterward, as she left Mme. Sechehaye's house, in the com-

太天*
平下

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The Department of Asian Studies of the College of Arts and Sciences has attained a national reputation as a pioneer in the training of elementary and secondary school teachers in the critical Oriental tongues. This is only one example of the way Seton Hall University is attempting to meet the challenge of our times.

*A translation: *Pacem in Terris*. Pope John XXIII cared deeply about peace on this Earth, as do the men and women of Seton Hall.

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pany of a hospital nurse, Renee experienced a startling shift in her perception. "Instead of infinite space, unreal, where everything was cut off, naked and isolated, I saw Reality, marvelous Reality, for the first time. The people whom we encountered were no longer automatons, gesticulating without meaning; they were men and women with their own individual characteristics. . . . It was the same with things. They were useful things. . . . Here was an automobile to take me to the hospital, cushions I could rest on. With the astonishment that one views a miracle, I devoured with my eyes everything that happened. "This is it, this is it," I kept repeating, and I was actually saying, "This is it—Reality."

The miracle of her newly found "Reality" was not permanent. There were many bitter relapses when Renee's trust in her therapist collapsed, and she was frozen again into the "old cinematographic scene," the glittering light and isolating mechanical landscape of "Unreality." It was a beginning, however, the first major step in her long journey from an almost hopeless prognosis to recovery.

Now that this remarkable autobiography is available in paperback, I hope it may begin to have the following among lay readers that it has had for so many years in psychoanalytic circles. Clearly it is a book that can be read on many levels.

There are striking resemblances, for example, between Renee's "unreality" —the glittering, dehumanized, geometric landscape that she sees at the worst stages of her illness, and the "reality" of an increasing number of contemporary artists.

Schizophrenia, as Mme. Sechehaye reminds us in her introduction, involves a split between affectivity and intelligence, the former deeply damaged; the latter "remaining intact, and acting as a motion picture camera to record whatever comes within range of the lens." One thinks of the curiously affectless brilliance of certain avant-garde films; the dazzling but chilling impact of color abstractionist painting; the mechanical neutrality and depersonalization of French "zero degree" writing.

It is easy of course, even commonplace today, to generalize about the schizophrenic character of modern life and art. What is less easy is to be able to particularize, to see connections as vividly and specifically as one is permitted to do through a book of this kind.

When French "zero degree" novelist Alain Robbe-Grillet suggests, for example, that the only cure for our "contaminating" literary tendency to sentimentalize and anthropomorphize nature is to try to see the world as "a smooth surface, without significance," a world in which "things are nothing but things, each limited to itself," it is instructive to remember that Renee's inability to see anything *but* this kind of world was what drove her to the most grotesque anthropomorphizing of all.

"In the silence and immensity, each object was detached in the boundlessness, spaced off from other things. Without any relationship with the environment, just by being itself, it began to come to life. It was there, facing me, terrifying me. And I said, 'The chair is making fun of me, it is playing tricks on me.'"

Is the cold purity of "surfaces," "outlines" and "geometric measurement" that Robbe-Grillet and others offer us in the name of a new freedom really an antidote to the anthropocentric sickness that they hope to cure, or is it simply the opposite face of that sickness?

I am not suggesting that *The Autobiography of a Schizophrenic Girl* adequately answers a question of this kind, but it does implement such questions. And more than that, it reminds us that nihilism is a luxury of artists and theoreticians; that anyone confined exclusively to the experience of meaninglessness, absurdity, depersonalization, either surrenders to insanity or finds his way back to some sense of purpose and connectedness—a sense on which our new artist-ontologists also rely for their survival, but which they seldom acknowledge in their art or rhetoric.

Italian Americans

JOSEPH LOPREATO

Random House, $2.25

JOSEPH A. SCIMECCA

Italian Americans have recently figured quite prominently in the news. This sudden interest on the part of the various news media has centered primarily on the Italian-American Civil Rights League's determined effort to stamp out what it considers to be harmful stereotypes of Italian Americans. While one can hardly proclaim the League's success (the terms "Cosa Nostra" and "Mafia" will not be used in the movie *The Godfather,* and the Italian-American character in the Alka-Seltzer "Spicy Meatball" commercial has been taken off the air), nevertheless, very important questions have been raised. Italian Americans are asking themselves what it means to be of Italian descent in America, and because one's self-image is inextricably tied in with the perceptions of others, American society is being prodded to look at how it perceives its Italian Americans. As an Ital-

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ian American, I can not help but believe that it is high time that these questions were asked and answered honestly; but as a sociologist I know that if Italian Americans are to fashion a positive ethnic identity it will take more than a picketing of the F.B.I. (though God knows the F.B.I. deserves to be picketed). This identity must come out of a thorough understanding of the whole context of Italian migration and its impact on American society.

It is to this end that Joseph Lopreato has written *Italian Americans*. The author, a distinguished sociologist, and himself an Italian American, analyzes the Italians, who have been called the "archtypical new immigrants," and does it quite well.

Italian Americans has two basic aims. First of all, it is an attempt to summarize and bring up to date knowledge of the Italian-American assimilation into American society. And secondly, it is a critique of the works of social scientists who have previously written about Italians in America.

As for his first aim, he is successful. While I would have liked to see more original data and less review of the literature, for what he has attempted Lopreato has done a fine job. He presents and summarizes almost all one could wish to know about Italian Americans, from their mass immigration from 1890 to 1930 to their place in America in the 1970's. Everything from why they immigrated, to their patterns of settlement, to how well they have achieved is presented in concise, readable language.

This brings us to Lopreato's second aim—his critique of what others have written about Italian Americans. Here he really comes into his own as he attacks the misunderstandings that have passed for scholarship in this field. One by one Lopreato takes on the "sacred cows" of ethnic studies and shows how and why they have misinterpreted the Italian experience. Take for example, Oscar Handlin. Handlin, in his famous *The Uprooted,* writes about how unnatural it was for the Italian immigrant to gravitate toward the city and away from the soil he knew so well in Italy. Lopreato's argument is much closer to the facts, as anyone who has an Italian grandfather could tell you. According to Lopreato:

> . . . it was because Italian peasants had had enough of farming. As they saw it, wealth, prestige, power, authority, luxury, all of the symbols of a civilized existence, and even the sense of being truly human were associated with the style of life of their gentry. By taking up urban occupations, they performed a vicarious act of defiance against their former superiors. At the same time, they pursued the best road to achieving the economic means and learning the appropriate social skills with which to challenge the old *signorini* upon returning to the old community.

Herbert Gans, who since his 1962 work on Italian Americans, *The Urban Villages: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans,* has gone on to become one of the country's leading urbanologists, is also taken to task. Gans is criticized, and again I would say, rightly so, for his historical and methodological errors. Lopreato points out how Gans and others who, finding it useful to consider the roots of Italian-American behavior, have a tendency to locate these roots in Italian society as it was prior to the Italian immigration. This is just not the case. In error too, are the generalizations about Italian Americans made from one group of them. Gans was not writing about the life of Italian Americans but about only one small community. In actuality, when national survey data are analyzed, as Lopreato points out, Italian Ameri-

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REVIEWERS

RALPH WHITEHEAD, JR., is writing a book about Chicago's politics of law and order.

JAMES M. GUSTAFSON, author of *The Church as Moral Decision Maker* (Pilgrim Press), is Professor of Religious Studies at Yale University.

BARBARA LAWRENCE is an associate professor at the State University of New York College at Old Westbury.

JOSEPH A. SCIMECCA, a sociologist at SUNY-Albany, co-authored *Crisis at St. John's.*

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cans, outside of a high degree of participation in the primary group sphere, and a tendency toward inbreeding in marriage, are not very different from other groups in American society. Not exactly the material stereotypes are made of.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 419)

curiously unconvincing overtone.

B) The whole case is kept on the superficial level. Not once does he indicate awareness of the fact that those who hold the ABM immoral do so because they hold the entire nuclear arms race immoral. If one disregards that context, then obviously he will find it "somewhat surprising" that a defensive system should be considered immoral. Once you accept the legitimacy of the general policy of nuclear deterrence, then there is indeed a *Deadly Logic* (to use the title of Philip Green's book on the subject) to the ABM and every other step of escalation. But it is unfair to isolate one step in that race and treat it as if it were not part of that race.

C) The article ultimately misses the point at issue. It is basically a discussion of military strategy, arguing that if the ABM makes military sense, then it must be moral. So, "to me there is nothing immoral about supporting deployment of a system which could very well save millions of lives under a number of possible contingencies." In other words, military success constitutes morality. Granted that many of our contemporaries would endorse such a theory, which can readily be turned to justify obliteration bombing, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, etc., it remains to be demonstrated that the theory can enjoy any intellectual respectability, especially where Judaeo-Christian moral values remain operative.

The article is well written and the subject is relevant, but to do what he set out to do, Prof. Boylan would have to get into the complexities of the morality of deterrence, not just the ABM. However, for anyone truly concerned about morality, it would seem that the far more profitable path would be the one pointed to by Pope John in *Pacem in Terris*, working not to justify our present paranoid policy of nuclear roulette, but striving to promote an atmosphere of mutual trust that will make it possible to spend our resources on life-promoting projects rather than on instruments of megamurder.

JAMES J. MEGIVERN

Reply

To Caroline W. Krebs:

(1) If MIRV is the issue, then oppose MIRV, not ABM

(2) Some wars, e.g., WW II, I do consider moral.

(3) Our military unpreparedness did not prevent WW I and WW II from occurring, nor has our stockpiling of nuclear weapons led to a war with the Soviet Union. Indeed, I think it has lessened the chance of a war.

(4) It is difficult to "negotiate" or

Importance of the Liturgy

HOW ONE VIEWS the new liturgy depends very much not only on one's own temperament, but on where you are. Some dioceses and parishes have cooperated fully in liturgical reform; others have dragged their feet disgracefully. Further, much depends on the particular situation in which one finds oneself. There are still a few areas where one finds the classic parish pattern of the homogeneous population clustered around a sheltering church. The needs of such a parish will be sharply different from those of one in the heart of a crowded urban area or in a university community. . . .

In the traditional concept of the parish one built on a natural human community. Today in more and more localities this is not the case, and it is for this reason that it is now necessary to seek out the small natural groupings that do exist and then use these as natural units in the building of a larger community, a community which will in turn be a small-scale reproduction of the mystery of the church itself. . . .

If a parish is narrow and closed, if it ignores the needs of the poor, closes its eyes to interracial injustice, gives assent to crimes against humanity, turns away from ecumenical initiative—such a parish is betraying the church universal and, in a very fundamental way, the liturgy itself. In the liturgy the faithful gather around the altar, true, but they cannot remain there on their knees; they must go forth and and work to embrace and ennoble the whole of human life. . . .

—Editorial, *Commonweal,* August 21, 1970

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solve "problems" with totalitarian states unless you are strong militarily. Anyone doubting this can check with any citizen of Prague.

To Mr. Megivern:

The moral arguments *for* ABM (which are contained in my article) are: i) ABM offers the beginnings of an alternative to assured destruction, an immoral doctrine which advocates killing millions of innocent civilians. ii) ABM is of value in reaching an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union, thus it helps to end the arms race. iii) ABM "could save millions of lives under a number of possible contingencies." The latter is not an argument that ABM makes military sense. The contingencies discussed—accidental, unauthorized or non-governmental attacks have nothing to do with military encounters. It is the lives of millions of innocent civilians which would be saved. Mr. Megivern apparently believes that preventing new Hiroshimas and Nagasakis is as immoral as Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I do not.

I wish Mr. Megivern would consider the possibility that an atmosphere of mutual trust is often more easily developed when one does not stand completely naked before the weapons of a potential adversary.

Finally, I support ABM because it does offer a viable alternative to the current policy of nuclear deterrence. It is not an instrument of megamurder, rather a protection against such instruments.

EDWARD S. BOYLAN

Pakistani Suffering

Assam, India

To the Editors: Due to the Civil War in Pakistan and the consequent suffering of the adjacent Assam Mission areas, I am writing this letter of plea. Evacuees are crossing over to India at the rate of 60,000 a day. Neighboring villages have to offer a shelter to this suffering lot. Cholera plague has snatched away hundreds of lives. Terrible conditions of the millions of refugees are heart-breaking. Fathers and mothers with their weeping children are crossing rivers and wilderness. . . . Under the government-provided tents, they sit in desperation. They left everything at home. With a few pieces of dirty cloths, they ran away to the Indian borders. No clothes! no food! no shelter! plague & famine!! Mine is the first Mission in the Assam area after the East Pakistan boundary. International view is that the refugees should be sent back to their Home State. Even after the settlement, the repercussions of this Civil War will be horrible for this undeveloped region. None of the refugees want to go back; so much were they maltreated by the military troops.

Dear and respected Editor, kindly let your readers know the current story of our suffering brethren and let them send any little help to reduce their miseries at either of the following addresses: Fr. Palatty M., Catholic Mission, Udalguri P.O., Darrang, Assam, India *or* Fr. Palatty M., c/o The Manager, Henry County Savings Bank, P.O. Box 239, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa 52641. (India Airmail: 25¢)

Correction

In the August 6 *Commonweal,* the byline of the article "Secrets and Security" was incorrect. The article, as indicated on the cover and in the table of contents, was written by Isidore Silver.

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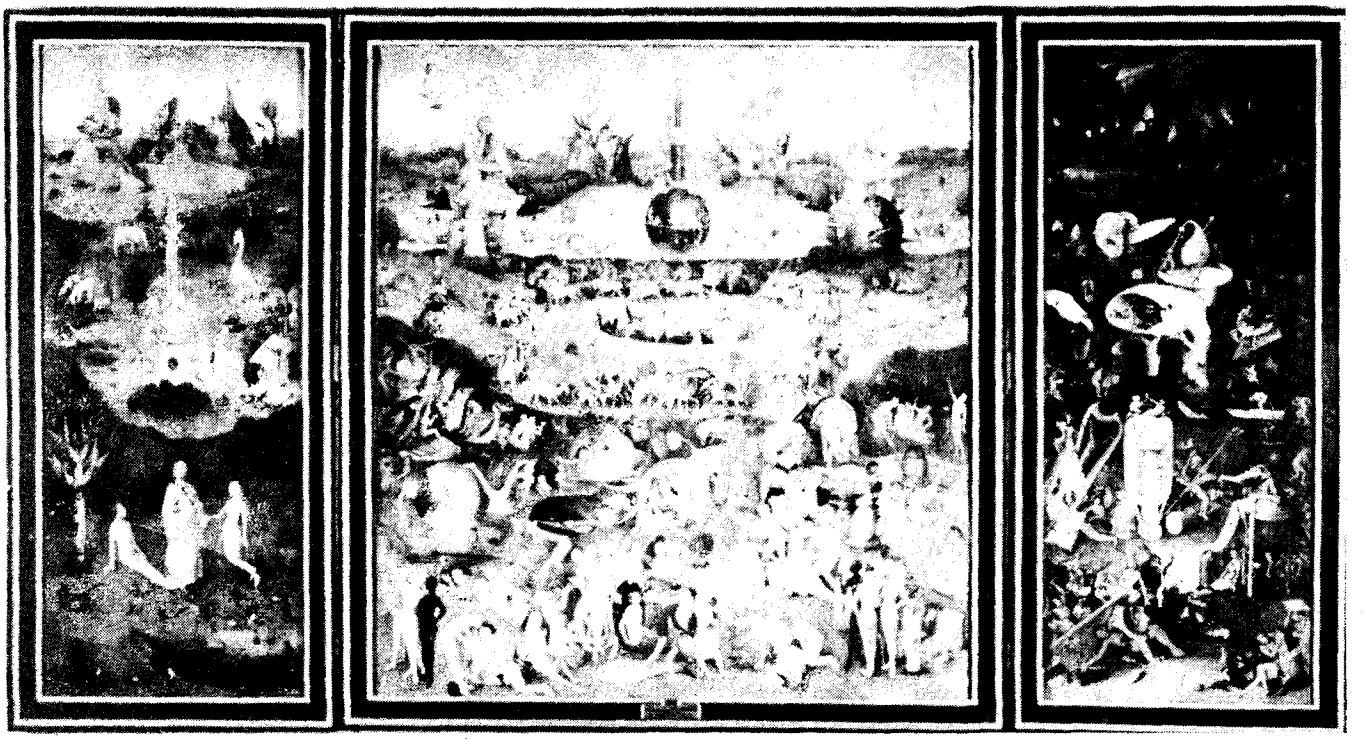

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